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Ulrich Pfeffel's Library:

Parish Priests, Preachers and Books in the Fifteenth Century

In 1460 Karl von Seckendorf sent the following note along with a manuscript that included a biblical commentary by Matthias de Liegnitz, the *Postilla super epistulas dominicales*, to an acquaintance:

Dear Sir Ulrich, I have often been given to understand how much you like the books. I am now sending them to you and will give you a better deal than I would give to others and ask if you could lend me four gulden, which I will repay you. It is not an issue if you do not have the money; keep the books anyway. When I am able to visit you, then we can come to an agreement. If you then must have the [four] gulden, then I do not wish to burden you about it. Karl von Seckendorf.¹

Karl von Seckendorff matriculated into the University of Heidelberg on 12 August 1457 and later served as a cathedral canon in Eichstätt. The recipient, Ulrich Pfeffel, was at the time serving as the rector of the parish church in Preith, a village near Eichstätt, located in modern-day Bavaria. Pfeffel carefully preserved the letter and, perhaps inspired by feelings of gratitude, used the reverse to record notes on the nature and benefits of good works.

Historians have been slowly chipping away at the grosser caricatures of the late medieval clergy hewn by earlier generations of scholars and confessional antagonists, but the results of their efforts have been uneven.² Scholarly surveys of the Reformation, for example, no longer automatically identify the ignorance and venality of the parish clergy as a major cause of the Protestant revolt.³ On the other hand, just a decade ago two well-respected scholars of the English parish clergy could still assert that the older image of the village parson as a “barely literate, barely celibate, barely sober bumpkin” persists.⁴

In particular, there remains sufficient suspicion about the intellectual attainments of the parish clergy that it might cause some surprise to see a fifteenth-century priest like Ulrich Pfeffel so eagerly seeking out books from friends away at university. Since the thirteenth century, bishops had demanded that parish priests keep copies of the diocesan statutes and a suitable pastoral handbook, but the frequency with which bishops felt it necessary to repeat themselves has convinced many historians that priests struggled to fulfill even these modest demands. John Shinner, who in many ways has worked to rehabilitate our image of the medieval parish clergy, summed up his overview of parish libraries in England by dismissing them as “bare-bones” and advised against continuing the fruitless search for book-owning priests.⁵

In fifteenth-century German-speaking lands, however, the search has not been in vain.⁶ In Pfeffel’s homeland during the fifteenth century, Latin schools were proliferating in cities, towns, and even some villages. To look only at the area in which Pfeffel was active, whereas in 1399 there were only 39 towns with ‘common schools’ (gemeine Schulen) in Franconia and the Electoral Oberpfalz, there were nearly 200 by 1520, 29 of these in villages.⁷ As the number of grammar-school students increased, so too did the numbers of university students. Over the course of the fifteenth-century the ranks of the university-educated became so swollen that more and more such men were pushed into ever lower levels of secular and ecclesiastical administration, including into the parishes.⁸

Improvements in education created a rising demand for books, a demand which was more capable of being met than ever before thanks to the plummeting price of paper and, beginning in the 1470s, to the printing press.⁹ The impact of the press on book production has long been of scholarly interest; less well known is that manuscript

production experienced its own boom in the fifteenth century, especially in Italy and the Empire. Between 1400 and 1470 manuscript production in the Empire had nearly quadrupled and was increasing at the rate of 70% every 25 years.¹⁰ These observations have forced historians to re-evaluate the culture of the late Middle Ages.¹¹ Increased book production and the accelerating circulation of new forms of communication like placards, leaflets, and tracts make it possible to talk about the nascent formation of public opinion and a public sphere in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Daniel Hobbins, for example, has recently argued that Jean Gerson (d. 1429), theologian, chancellor of the University of Paris, and a leading participant at the Council of Constance, should be seen as a public intellectual who saw his writings as a way of shaping public opinion.¹²

There is no reason to suppose that the parish clergy did not also benefit from these developments; indeed they would have constituted a major portion of the audience that bookmen like Jean Gerson were trying to reach. In sermons delivered in 1404 and 1408, Gerson argued explicitly that cheap and simple tracts on the basics of the Christian faith could help educate priests in the parishes.¹³ In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, pastoral handbooks for priests and vernacular tracts for the laity streamed from the pens of energetic church reformers, many of whom became convinced that catechetical instruction based on the Ten Commandments was the best means of rooting out sin, heresy and superstition.¹⁴ Theologians at the University of Vienna, led most notably by Heinrich von Langenstein (d. 1397) and Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl (d. 1433), embraced the catechetical program with particular enthusiasm and produced countless tracts on pastoral theology in both Latin and German.¹⁵

Many of these works achieved phenomenal success, at least judging by surviving numbers of manuscripts. For example, Gerson himself produced a half dozen catechetical pamphlets in French. Three of these, an explication of the Ten Commandments, a confessional manual arranged according to the Seven Deadly Sins, and a guide to dying well, were translated into Latin and acquired the title *Opus Tripartitum*. The short collection found an enthusiastic audience at the Council of Constance and from there spread throughout the Empire in both Latin and German translations. The collection survives in more than 200 manuscripts and went through twenty-three editions in five languages before 1500.¹⁶

Bishops and reformers, especially in the Empire, certainly began to revise their expectations in the fifteenth century. In his popular *Manuale curatorum*, first printed in 1503, Johann Ulrich Surgant included a list of ninety titles that he recommended as useful for the parish preacher, but admitted that six books would do “if you have to get along with little in the beginning.” These were William of Paris’ *Postilla super evangelii et epistolis*, Petrus de Palude’s *Sermologum thesauri novi de tempore et de sanctis*, Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, William Durandus’ *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Hugo Ripelin’s *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, and a *Speculum exemplorum*.¹⁷ The sermons, moral tales, theology, liturgical exposition, and scriptural commentary contained in these texts would have been of great use to a novice pastor. In October of the same year the bishop of Basel included Surgant’s handbook itself among a list of twelve titles with which curates should be familiar.¹⁸

While Surgant’s list of ninety titles was surely optimistic, it is true that parish libraries increased in both number and size during the fifteenth century with many of the

new books donated by members of the parish clergy.¹⁹ In 1529, the parish library in Schwabach, for example, boasted of 164 books, of which twenty-two manuscripts produced before 1500 and 122 incunabula survive to this day.²⁰ A major obstacle, however, in any study of book-ownership among priests and preachers is that biographical information on members of this clerical class is sparse. While books once owned by members of the lower clergy survive in libraries across Germany, little is known about the prior owners of most of these volumes and virtually nothing known about how, when, and why they acquired the texts they did.

Ulrich Pfeffel, a priest, preacher, and avid book collector in the dioceses of Eichstätt and Bamberg in the second half of the fifteenth century is an exception. Pfeffel has long been known and celebrated in the local historiography of the diocese of Eichstätt, but has not received any sustained treatment.²¹ Thirty-two manuscripts and three printed books once owned by Pfeffel, in all containing well over 200 texts, have survived.²² The books themselves are of a remarkably even quality, of both moderate size and length. All appear to have their original fifteenth-century binding, usually leather, and three of the bindings can be identified as the work of the bindery in Rebdorf, a community of Augustinian canons near Eichstätt belonging to the Windesheim Congregation.²³ Pfeffel was not shy about proclaiming his ownership and outfitted most of his books with a bold 'Ulricus Pfeffel' on the outside of the front cover.²⁴ The collection is dominated by sermons, biblical commentaries, devotional and moral texts, and pastoral theology. Both modest schoolbooks and vernacular literature are wholly lacking, but Pfeffel's library has not survived completely intact so we cannot invest gaps in his collection with any intent.

What we have is not Pfeffel's entire collection, but a substantial portion of his professional reference library, a set of books that shows every sign of frequent use. Thankfully, Pfeffel was both vain and frugal; he littered his books with biographical references and cut up old personal letters to reuse as scrap paper for odd notes, reminders, and sermon outlines. These notes allow one to partially reconstruct how and in what order Pfeffel assembled his library and thus to observe a phenomenon normally seen only in fragmentary fashion: the acquisition and circulation of books among the secular clergy. The chronological development of his library parallels his career in ways that suggest he sought out texts primarily for professional purposes, to help him in his role first as priest and later as preacher. A few texts, however, appear to have been acquired for personal, devotional reasons. His texts and his travels allowed him to participate in major cultural movements taking place in fifteenth-century German-speaking lands, namely the explosion of book production, the growth of universities, the late medieval emphasis on pastoral care and catechesis promoted by church reformers like Gerson, as well as the penetration of the Modern Devotion into the heart of the Empire. Ulrich Pfeffel's library clearly shows that for him the obligations of the priest were not only liturgical, the duties of the preacher not only rhetorical, the needs of the devout not fully satisfied by ritual; in his mind priests, preachers, and devout Christians also needed books.

Career

Nothing is known of Pfeffel's early life until he matriculated into the University of Vienna on 14 April 1452.²⁵ Pfeffel gave Wolkertshofen, located near Nassenfels close

to the southern extremity of the diocese of Eichstätt, as his place of residence and appears to have been a member of an extended family in the region of Bavaria between Eichstätt and Landshut with a tradition of university education and service to the church. Pfeffels from the region matriculated into the University of Vienna in 1418, 1468, 1472, 1508, 1513, and 1521, while another chose the University of Leipzig in 1477.²⁶ Andreas Pfeffel was a monk in Zwettl in 1468 and a Gerard Pfeffel was both a Benedictine monk and a rector of a parish church in the diocese of Passau in 1456.²⁷ While the rest of the family seems to have had sufficient resources to pay the standard fees, Ulrich matriculated as a 'pauper,' a term indicating not that he was totally destitute, but that he was poor enough for the standard matriculation fee to be waived. There is no evidence that Pfeffel ever received a degree from the university, not uncommon in the medieval period. After his matriculation he largely slips from bureaucratic view, and it is only by means of his own notes that one is able to follow the trajectory of his later career.

Pfeffel began his ecclesiastical career in 1455 as a simple priest without the *cura animarum*, in Spalt, a town located southwest of Nuremberg in the diocese of Eichstätt.²⁸ By 1460 at the latest he was rector of the parish church in Preith. By 1463 Pfeffel had moved on to become the parish priest in nearby Obereichstätt, a church in the advowson of the bishop of the Eichstätt. He remained there through at least October of 1466, but also exploited his proximity to Eichstätt in this period by engaging in notarial work to supplement his income.²⁹

Sometime in 1467 Pfeffel left his small-town parish and became a beneficed preacher in the church of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, the largest and most dynamic city in the region. How Pfeffel obtained such a prestigious post is murky, but it is likely that he

received the post on the basis of a recommendation from his bishop, Johann III von Eich, to Peter Knorr, the formidable rector of St. Lorenz, who also served as an advisor and diplomat for the Margrave Albrecht Achilles. Both Johann and Peter had studied law in Italy and during the 1450s would have been in regular contact as the bishop of Eichstätt generally sided with Albrecht in the margrave's constant confrontations with the city of Nuremberg and the dukes of Bavaria.³⁰

In 1472, Pfeffel left the great metropolis of Nuremberg for Windsheim, a town southeast of Würzburg, where he worked as a preacher for a total of three years and two months.³¹ By 6 November 1475 at the latest he had moved on again, this time to become the preacher in the cathedral of Eichstätt.³² Such a succession of prestigious posts must have made Pfeffel something of a local celebrity and a popular choice for occasions that called for a few wholesome words. One relative, Johannes Pfeffel, recruited him to preach at the dedication of a new chapel in Irlbach.³³ By this time Pfeffel was probably more than forty years old, but this did not prevent him from matriculating into the University of Ingolstadt in 1477.³⁴ He did not abandon his position as preacher in Eichstätt so to what extent he pursued his studies in Ingolstadt is unclear.³⁵ The tendency, noted by R. C. Schwinges, of local dignitaries to enroll at newly founded universities in order both to bask in and contribute to the glow of the new foundation could explain Pfeffel's matriculation.³⁶

After nearly twenty years as a preacher, Pfeffel decided to return to Spalt to become the administrator of St. Emmeram's, a venerable collegiate church founded in the eleventh century.³⁷ On 31 August 1485 the aged Johann Scheubel resigned the office of senior into Pfeffel's hands in exchange for a pension of 10 fl. per year.³⁸ At this point

Pfeffel's notes begin to run out, and other sources remain silent. We know only that Pfeffel still held the same post in 1492 when he gave 200 fl. to the city council of Spalt, from which the council was to feed four poor men every Sunday. He died in Spalt around 1495.³⁹

Construction of the Library

During his 40-year ecclesiastical career, Pfeffel used a variety of means to acquire texts. He copied texts himself, acquired manuscripts second-hand, hired scribes, took advantage of personal contacts, and purchased printed books. In sum his activities testify to the lively production and circulation of manuscripts even in an era in which the printing press was increasingly making itself felt.

Especially during his early years as a parish priest, Pfeffel was an active scribe. In a distinctive, consistent hand, he copied one of his manuscripts in its entirety (UE Cod. st 238), large parts of a second (UE Cod. st 469) and, leaving aside biographical notes or marginal comments, added texts to a further thirteen manuscripts that he had acquired by other means.⁴⁰ Although Pfeffel does not tell us where he found exemplars for the texts he copied, some of them may well have come from Rebdorf. The colophons to several texts in Pfeffel's early manuscripts are dated from Eichstätt; the episcopal city was not far from his posts at Preith and Obereichstätt (5 and 7 km respectively) and was separated from the community at Rebdorf by only a small hill. Seven of the texts copied by Pfeffel in whole or in part in Eichstätt between 1459 and 1466 appear listed in a catalog of Rebdorf's library from c. 1500.⁴¹ Pfeffel would have three of his manuscripts bound at

Rebdorf and one of his books (UE Cod. st 458) ended up in Rebdorf's possession, possibly donated to the community by Pfeffel.

On at least one occasion, Pfeffel hired a scribe to copy a text for him. In 1475, the year in which he moved from Windsheim to Eichstätt, Pfeffel hired a cleric named Currificis to make a copy of Johannes de Hesdinio's commentary on Paul's letter to Titus. A note now bound into the manuscript between fols. 53-54 and 57-58 is a request from the scribe: "Dear lord Ulrich, I ask that you might commission from me an additional sextern, on which I will begin work immediately after the feast days, of that you should have no doubt."⁴² On the back of this note, Pfeffel wrote an account of the funds dispersed to Currificis, which came to a total of 608 pennies, approximately 2.5 gulden, for nineteen quires of text. Currificis began writing around the beginning of Lent in 1475 and finished on September 8th, a rate of about 2.5 quires or 30 folia per month. Such a rate would suggest that Currificis was not a full-time scribe and was simply engaged in some side work in addition to his normal, probably clerical, duties.⁴³ During an episcopal visitation of the diocese of Eichstätt in 1480, the visitor, Johannes Vogt, briefly interviewed a Eukarius Currificis, who was at the time an assistant priest in Schwabach, a town south of Nuremberg.⁴⁴ This Currificis said that he had originally received his title to be ordained from 'the lord doctor Knorr,' which plausibly refers to Peter Knorr, the rector of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg and a colleague of Pfeffel's.⁴⁵ It is likely that the two are identical and that the choice of Currificis for the job depended on an earlier encounter during Pfeffel's years as a preacher in St. Lorenz.

Pfeffel was also active in the second-hand book market. In 1457 he bought a manuscript from 'Sir Eberhard' for 250 denarii or about 1-1 ½ gulden.⁴⁶ The manuscript

consists of two sections, the first of which was copied in 1406-1407 in Brauneck by an otherwise unidentified Theoderic Pfifferligsberger from Kelheim. Both Kelheim and Brauneck are located in the neighboring diocese of Regensburg, a logical origin for the manuscript, which includes sermons by Berthold of Regensburg, as well as a short tract on confession, Johannes Kusun's *De audientia confessionum*. Unfortunately Eberhard is not further identified, but the title *dominus*, in addition to the contents of the manuscript, make it highly likely that he was a cleric. So Pfeffel was probably the third clerical owner of this particular collection.

To acquire desired volumes, Pfeffel sometimes exploited personal contacts. The book acquired from Karl von Seckendorff mentioned at the beginning of this essay is of course one example of this. There are others. Between 1468 and 1472, Pfeffel acquired UE Cod. st 144, a dictionary of biblical terms and a collection of alphabetical tables to assorted other works, from Willibald Marstaller, a canon in the church of St. Nicholas in Spalt. Around 1468, Marstaller moved to the monastery of Gnadenberg, where in 1480 he was still serving as confessor to the sisters there.⁴⁷ An undated note left between fols. 45-46 of UE Cod. st 348 mentions a trip made by Pfeffel to the monasteries of Pillenreuth and Gnadenberg; perhaps Pfeffel acquired the manuscript during his visit. In 1471 Pfeffel purchased a manuscript of Robert Holcot's commentary on the Book of Wisdom from 'the lord doctor Hebrer,' a reference to Johannes Hebrer, who two years later would be a professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt.

Like any good professional preacher, Pfeffel was interested in the activities of more famous practitioners of his craft. Between fols. 86-87 in UE Cod. st 438 is a note

from a 'brother Sixtus' that must have originally accompanied a copy of Johannes Capistrano's sermons:

Venerable lord Ulrich, I am sending to you the material on the Passion of Christ preached by brother Johannes Capistrano, who on this topic follows the blessed Bernhard, brother and doctor of our order.⁴⁸

In 1452 the famed Franciscan preacher Johannes Capistrano had made a preaching tour through Bavaria and Franconia and spent four weeks in Nuremberg in July and August of that year. Although he failed in his political goal of making peace between the Margrave Albrecht Achilles and the city of Nuremberg, his preaching met with more success, inspiring both miraculous cures and the burning of dice, game boards, and piles of pointed shoes.⁴⁹ None of Ulrich Pfeffel's manuscripts in fact contain any sermons by Johannes Capistrano, an indication that his library has not survived completely intact.

Textual accuracy was always a concern with commissioned or purchased manuscript books and on at least one occasion Pfeffel hired a corrector to ensure the accuracy of a text. In a note written between 1467 and 1472, Pfeffel apologized to an unnamed recipient for forgetting to send back some borrowed books because of the unexpected arrival of his parents. On the reverse is a note in a different hand reporting that the anonymous author had corrected a '*breviarium decreti*' from the text of the decretals and the *glossa ordinaria*. It seems likely that Pfeffel's patient lender had been working on correcting an abbreviated version of the decretals and glosses for him.⁵⁰

To illustrate the manner in which second-hand books circulated, it is perhaps useful to look at a simple list of the locations where the books that ended up in Pfeffel's hands originated or were previously owned. Aside from the works he copied himself, Pfeffel possessed numerous texts copied in towns within the boundaries of modern-day

Bavaria including Ansbach, Brauneck, Coburg, Ingolstadt, Spalt, and Thannhausen, but he also had texts from further afield: from Worms, Prague, Rome, the diocese of Padua, and France. Six of Pfeffel's manuscripts were first copied before 1400 and another thirteen were copied before 1450. The surprising geographical and chronological range of Pfeffel's private collection shows that used books could and did circulate among individuals before either disintegrating or finally coming to rest in institutional libraries. Similarly, a list of the previous owners, producers, or procurers of Pfeffel's manuscripts shows the wide circles in which books circulated: Antonius de Capitibus Vache, a monk in the Benedictine monastery of St. Michael in the diocese of Padua; a Franciscan 'brother Sixtus;' a 'dominus Eberhard,' likely a cleric; Berchtold Link, parish priest in Thannhausen; Hermannus from Freystadt, the parish priest in Wettstetten; a *magister* Heinrich Hopf in Worms; an unknown student studying at the University of Prague; Stephanus Decimator, a student in Coburg; Johannes Stekna, a professor of theology at the University of Prague; Johannes Hebrer, professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt; Johannes Weyt, a perpetual vicar in the collegiate church in Ansbach; Karl von Seckendorf, student in Heidelberg and canon in the cathedral of Eichstätt; Matthias Spengler, a student in Heidelberg who later became a doctor in canon law and vicar general in Bamberg before passing in 1430; Cyriacus Knott, a student at the University of Vienna in 1423 and later a cathedral canon in Eichstätt; and Willibald Marstaller, canon in St. Nicholas in Spalt and later confessor general in the monastery of Gnadenberg.⁵¹ Texts that had once belonged to monks, parish priests, university students, professors, episcopal administrators, and canons ended up in Pfeffel's hands. The health of the

manuscript market should not surprise as until the mid-1470's printed books were still quite expensive and the majority of texts were still not available in this new format.⁵²

Pfeffel did not ignore the products of the press entirely, however. He made his only known purchases of printed books, while serving as a preacher in the 1470s. Sometime in late January or early February 1472, Pfeffel made his first purchase of a printed book, the New Testament portion of Nicholas of Lyra's monumental biblical commentary, the *Postilla super totam Bibliam* (Strasbourg, not after 1472).⁵³ He waited until October of 1473 to buy the Old Testament portion and at an unknown date added the volume on the Psalms.⁵⁴ In January of 1474 he purchased a printed copy of part 2.2 of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (Strasbourg, 1472) and on 8 July 1477 Pfeffel purchased a copy of John of Freiburg's *Summa confessorum* (Augsburg, 1476), an encyclopedic guide for confessors.⁵⁵

There is a definite chronology to the assembly of Pfeffel's library. After a couple of initial purchases while in Spalt, Pfeffel turned to copying out his own manuscripts while serving as the parish priest in Preith and Obereichstätt. Only after acquiring more prominent, and probably better remunerated, preaching posts did Pfeffel once again begin to accelerate his purchases. When prices for printed books started to become more reasonable in the mid-1470's, he bought a few lengthy tomes on canon law, theology, and biblical exegesis, but he continued both to use and acquire manuscripts. To get the texts he wanted Pfeffel used nearby institutional libraries, hired scribes, and asked his friends and acquaintances for help. Pfeffel acquired the texts he did for both professional and devotional reasons. By examining the contents and chronology of his library it is possible

to say something about how he conceptualized his role as priest and preacher and how he interacted with the devotional currents of his day.

Ulrich Pfeffel's Pastoral Library (1457-1467)

As a rector of a parish church, Pfeffel was responsible for celebrating the Mass, hearing confessions, teaching correct doctrine, and regular preaching. These expectations had been laid out clearly in diocesan statutes. In his 1447 statutes, for example, Bishop Johann III von Eich had stipulated:

... let them [parish priests] preach Holy Scripture, namely the Old and New Testaments, especially the Gospel of Christ, to the people plainly and intelligibly on Sundays and other solemn feast days, first by setting forth the text in the vernacular, just as it lies, with the attached postils or let them explain it clause by clause suited to the capacity of the people. And because repeated reminders of God's mandates are seen greatly to edify the people, we especially order that the rectors of parish churches at least once a year take up the matter of the Ten Commandments and then follow that with the correction of vices as appropriate, leading the people with the greatest diligence to perform penance for committed sins. On account of this, we wish that each year on the first Sunday in Lent that they publish and announce to the same people the constitution from the general council that begins *Omnis utriusque* etc. and lead them with other salutary admonitions to confession to priests and to reconciliation with God.⁵⁶

Nor did Johann shy from asking his clergy to address doctrine. At the same synod, Johann ordered that clergy and people adore the holy and indivisible Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as one God and admonished them not to believe, foster, or venerate anything that the Roman Church had judged incompatible with the faith.⁵⁷ Johann then gave special instructions for the parish clergy:

In order that the common people might live more rightly in that Christian faith and be instructed more fully, we order to all rectors of parish churches and those who exercise the office of preaching that both in sermons and in hearing confessions they are particularly attentive with respect to this [i.e. the Trinity],

lest, may it never happen, error in the faith rise up among the people, and let them pronounce the Lord's Prayer that begins 'Our Father' and the Apostles' Creed in the maternal or vulgar tongue in each parish church on Sundays and solemn feast days.⁵⁸

These expectations reveal Johann von Eich as a supporter of the late medieval catechetical movement promoted by churchmen like Gerson. Priests in the diocese were expected not only to possess the necessary liturgical books, but also the synodal statutes and an appropriate pastoral handbook. In 1434 one of Johann's predecessors, Bishop Albert of Hohenrechberg, had recommended Johannes Auerbach's popular pastoral handbook, the *Directorium curatorum*, and provided an exemplar for his rural deans. The deans were then to make their copies available to the curates in their districts.⁵⁹ Under the influence of Nicholas of Cusa the provincial councils of Mainz (1451) and Cologne (1452) promoted the use of Aquinas' *De articulis fidei et sacramentis*.⁶⁰ The work was appended to the provincial statutes and diocesan bishops were ordered to transmit the work to their clergy. The synods of Würzburg, Eichstätt, and Augsburg did, in fact, adopt the Mainz statutes, and the bishop of Strasbourg independently recommended the text in the same year.⁶¹

Handbooks such as Auerbach's and other popular late medieval manuals such as the *Manipulus curatorum*, *Cura pastoralis*, and the *Manuale parrochialium sacerdotum* were essentially how-to manuals designed to teach priests the basics of pastoral care. Although each handbook has its own idiosyncrasies there are broad similarities across the genre. A typical handbook includes a discussion of the form, material, and effects of the sacraments, definitions of key terms such as contrition and satisfaction, and brief descriptions of the virtues, vices, Ten Commandments, and articles of faith. Typically

theological subtlety is eschewed in favor of an emphasis on ritual purity and precision. Some manuals take the latter focus to an extreme; the *Manuale parrochialium sacerdotum* even includes instructions on what the priest should do if his nose began to bleed during the celebration of Mass or if he should discover a spider in the consecrated wine.⁶²

Pfeffel did own the handbooks recommended in his diocese and province. He copied Aquinas' *De articulis* himself in 1459 and at some point acquired Auerbach's *Directorium* as well as two other handbooks for good measure, the *Stella clericorum* and Jean Gerson's *Opus tripartitum*.⁶³ A note Pfeffel left at the beginning of Aquinas' short tract reveals in what way he himself thought the text useful: "In this little treatise you will find sixty-four distinct heresies about the articles of faith and twenty distinct heresies concerning the seven sacraments."⁶⁴ Clearly Pfeffel saw the prevention and elimination of doctrinal error as a central aspect of his role.

Several notes, lists, and short texts compiled by Pfeffel during his first years as a priest reveal his desire to fulfill his new responsibilities. He began by adding several short texts, including a work by Thomas Ebendorffer (d. 1464) on the pains of Hell, to the previously empty first quire of a manuscript containing the *Liber scintillarum*, a collection of 'sparkling' passages from the Bible and Church Fathers arranged by topic.⁶⁵ Between 1460 and 1461 he added to another manuscript instructions for administering confession and copied several lists common in basic pastoral literature: the seven deadly sins, the Ten Commandments, the five senses, the seven sacraments, the nine sins of complicity (*peccata aliena*), the eight Beatitudes, the six works of mercy, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the "sins crying out to heaven" (*peccata clamantia in celum*), the sin

against the Holy Spirit, and the sins of the heart, mouth, commission, and omission.⁶⁶

These lists would have been useful to a confessor who was concerned to ensure that his parishioners' confessions were complete.

Many of the miscellaneous notes copied by Pfeffel during these years in fact concern confession. One note, for example, discusses four motives for confession: obedience to a superior, desperation, true repentance, and a desire to praise God's goodness. A short text matching the seven vices with their contrary virtues follows underneath. Finally, he lists the three stages of penance, one each for three modes of sinning: contrition for sins of thought, confession for sins of speech, and the medicine of satisfaction for sins against others. Contrition purges what man has committed against himself, confession that which man has committed against God, and satisfaction that which man has committed against others.⁶⁷ In another note, Pfeffel lists the cases in which a penitent is allowed to seek another confessor: participation in the sin, foolishness, heresy, or prejudice on the part of the priest, or if the penitent were away traveling or on pilgrimage.⁶⁸

The Mass also received some attention in these early notes. According to one, it heals the wounds of sin, absolves from punishment and fault, cleanses impure thoughts, gives strength in the midst of tribulation, confirms good works, impels one to do good, associates one with the saints and angels, and glorifies one through grace. Those who wish to receive the benefits of the Mass must have four things: faith that the consecrated host is the true body and blood of Christ; devotion, because the laity communicate spiritually through the priest; discretion, so that in their zeal they do not commit idolatry by adoring the unconsecrated host; and a sense of propriety. One should not approach the

altar, stand facing the priest, or disturb the priest in any way, but should watch with reverence and fear and stay until the end.⁶⁹

These early notes consist of the exact kinds of basic, practical information contained in pastoral handbooks. These notes may have served as a bare-bones substitute for a handbook in his early years, or, more likely, represent a digest of information he found useful in other books. Pfeffel's interest in catechesis is further revealed by a copy of Heinrich von Friemar's (d. 1340) enormously popular explication of the Ten Commandments and a collection of works by Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl, including his three popular sermon cycles on the virtues and vices, the eight beatitudes, and the Lord's Prayer. Nicholas was a foundational figure in the history of the University of Vienna, attended the Council of Constance, and dedicated much of his life to church reform. The three sermon cycles owned by Pfeffel were part of the *Tractatus octo*, a series of eight sermon cycles intended to revitalize the instruction of priests and people in the parishes.⁷⁰

Pfeffel in fact faced an immediate need for sermons and here his manuals would have been of little use. However, the first book he purchased while a priest in Spalt contained assorted sermons including partial collections of sermons on the common of the saints by Berthold of Regensburg, Conrad Holtzner, and Petrus de Sancto Benedicto. These were accompanied by a slew of sermons on the most varied topics: the dedication of churches, angels, widows, sacrifice, the feast of All Saints, the souls of the dead, the dignity of priests, three sermons on the Epiphany, and a handful of sermons *de tempore*.

To these he added in his own hand sermons on St. Thomas, St. Michael, the feast of the circumcision, the fourth Sunday of Lent, the Holy Innocents, the vigil of the feast

of the Ascension of the Lord, and two sermons on the immaculate conception along with the Council of Basel's decree on the subject from 17 September 1439.⁷¹ Similar small collections or even individual sermons occur in nine of Pfeffel's manuscripts, seven of which Pfeffel had acquired before becoming a beneficed preacher. He did, however, acquire a few systematic collections, including the Lenten sermons of Jacobus de Voragine, a series of sermon outlines for the Lenten season, and portions of Johannes de Milic Kremsier's *Sermones de sanctis*.⁷² Nevertheless, the frequency with which small groups of sermons appear in the manuscripts owned by Pfeffel and other parish priests suggests that sermons were a genre in demand and likely circulated in small quires of one to several sermons. They certainly did not always travel around in the nice, discreet units that readers accustomed to printed books would expect. Before printed books became affordable in the late 1470s, and perhaps for some time thereafter, the preaching culture of the parishes would have been as much influenced by such small, miscellaneous groups of sermons as by large, organized collections.

Ulrich Pfeffel's library thus far reveals him to have been conscientious but conventional. Other texts are somewhat more surprising. In this period, Pfeffel dabbled in theological commentary, biblical exegesis, and the problem of heresy. He praised an abbreviated version of the *Lectura Mellicensis*, Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl's commentary on the fourth book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, as "good and simple for any priest."⁷³ The *Sentences* were the premier introductory theology textbook of the medieval university; the fourth book dealt with the sacraments and last things. Judging by the relative amount of marginal notation, this commentary would remain a preferred choice for theological reference. Along with his interest in theology went an interest in heresy.

In 1461-1462 Pfeffel worked with another scribe to copy a miscellany that included Johannes Nider's *Tractatus contra haeresim hussitarum*.⁷⁴ Nider (d. 1438) was a theologian and prior of the Dominican convent in Nuremberg. His treatise deals generally with the problem of heresy before attacking the problem of the Hussite contagion more directly. After the Council of Basel appointed him as one of the lead negotiators with the Hussites, Nider distanced himself from the work, which consequently survives in very few copies.⁷⁵

The same manuscript containing Nider's treatise includes a later reworking of Isidore's *Quaestiones in vetus testamentum*, a commentary on the Old Testament, and a synopsis of moral stories derived from the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs. The manuscript acquired from Karl von Seckendorff, which included Matthias de Liegnitz's *Postilla super epistulas dominicales*, also contained a Carolingian-era homiliary, the *Flos evangeliorum*. By 1463 Pfeffel also owned what is now UE Cod. st 199, yet another miscellany including an incomplete copy of Alexander de Villa Dei's (d. c. 1240) *Summarium bibliae*, a highly condensed summary of the books of the Bible arranged into a grid of five lines per page with four words per line, an arrangement that left room for word-by-word commentary.⁷⁶

During his years as a parish priest, Pfeffel acquired for himself an impressive pastoral library including a pastoral syllabus to help him instruct his parishioners, handbooks to help him perform the daily functions of pastoral care, biblical commentaries, miracle stories, and sermons to help with his preaching, and works to deepen his own knowledge of the faith and canon law. His books and notes during these years reveal him to have been a dedicated pastor who quickly acquired the recommended

handbooks and pastoral literature upon his appointment to the church of Preith. He bought books, exploited personal contacts, and used nearby Eichstätt to pursue desired texts among the clerics and institutional libraries of the city. Pfeffel's library in this period is a vivid testament to the ways in which the late medieval emphasis on catechesis and the accelerating circulation of texts were impacting pastoral care in the parishes.

Ulrich Pfeffel's Preaching Library (1467-1485)

Pfeffel's acquisitions during his preaching career added breadth to his original pastoral library in the form of historical and philosophical texts, while deepening earlier interests in theological compendia, exegetical texts, and sermon material. The increased preaching responsibilities that came with his appointment to St. Lorenz led Pfeffel to acquire more complete sermon collections and academic *Summae* in theology and canon law.

Beginning in the mid-1470s, Pfeffel expanded his collection of pastoral and scholastic theology. Part 2.2 of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (Strasbourg, 1472) was the popular portion on faith and heresy, virtue and vice, charity and injustice. It would have been undoubtedly useful to a preacher dedicated to improving the moral fiber of his audience. Pfeffel would in fact make innumerable references to Aquinas' *Summa* in the loose sermon outlines and notes scattered throughout his books. A natural complement to this was John of Freiburg's *Summa confessorum* (Augsburg, 1476). John, a Dominican, created the new standard manual for confessors at the end of the thirteenth century by integrating the moral teachings of Aquinas and other theologians with the

older, legalistic approach of canonists such as Raymond of Penafort. The summa was a monumental reference work and would have helped Pfeffel learn the minutiae of the sacrament of penance.⁷⁷ By 1480 at the latest he had acquired two more manuscripts of scholastic theology. Both had been originally copied between 1423 and 1424 by Stephanus Decimatoris, a student in Coburg, and contained an assortment of academic texts including Heinrich Gotfrid's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a collection of the same master Gotfrid's remarks concerning the Mass, a theological compendium by Hugo Ripelin, a collection of scholastic 'questions' by Aegidius Romanus on the resurrection of the dead, a treatise by the same author on the Trinity, and a book attributed to Albertus Magnus on the origin, nature, and post-mortem fate of the soul.⁷⁸

As a preacher, Pfeffel was expected to expound the scriptures to his audience and was interested in encountering scripture on a variety of levels. His full library includes two Bibles, one a thirteenth-century parchment Bible, the other a New Testament with an abbreviated version of the Old Testament, Alexander de Villa Dei's *Summarium bibliae*, and a *Biblia pauperum*.⁷⁹ The latter consisted of illustrated summaries of biblical stories intended for the consumption of poorly educated priests and simple laypersons. Pfeffel was certainly more learned than this genre's target audience, but the fact that his version lacks the typical illustrations suggests that he found the simplified stories useful for preaching. Familiarity with the Bible itself, lively abbreviations, and his scholastic commentaries would have allowed Pfeffel to reach a range of audiences.

Pfeffel acquired commentaries in large numbers during his preaching career. As mentioned above, Pfeffel purchased Nicholas of Lyra's comprehensive *Postilla super*

totam Bibliam,⁸⁰ but he also owned individual commentaries on the gospels, *Song of Songs* and the *Book of Wisdom*.⁸¹ The latter was written by the English theologian Robert Holcot (d. 1349). Better known today for his theological writings on God's absolute power, Holcot wrote several popular biblical commentaries.⁸² Judging from the volume of Pfeffel's marginal notations, Holcot's commentary on the *Book of Wisdom* was one of Pfeffel's most intensely studied texts.⁸³

Although Pfeffel owned a few sermon collections while a pastor, his early manuscripts are distinctive for the small groups of sermons on miscellaneous topics that they contain. After becoming a preacher, Pfeffel seems to have preferred more systematic *de tempore* collections (sermons arranged according to the liturgical year) by preachers and authors such as Johannes Milic de Kremsier, Georgius Carthusiensis de Horto Christi, Leonardus de Datis Florentinus, Johannes Herolt, and Johannes Halgrinus de Abbatisvilla.⁸⁴ Herolt was a preacher in Nuremberg who died in 1468, roughly around the time that Pfeffel himself began to preach in the city. Interestingly, none of these collections are among those identified by Anne Thayer as among the most frequently printed sermon collections before the Reformation.⁸⁵ This observation reinforces the claim that before c. 1500 we should not discount the continuing influence of manuscripts even in an age of print.

As a preacher, Pfeffel did not merely read from his books, but rather crafted sermon outlines on small scraps of paper from which to preach. Although these are highly structured he does not seem to have possessed an extensive *ars praedicandi*. In UE Cod. st 199, there is a short (2 folia) text on constructing sermons, which promises to tell the reader how to dilate any theme in several different ways.⁸⁶ Pfeffel did, on the

other hand, possess several works that would have allowed him to organize his thoughts and locate needed passages or ideas quickly. Already as a pastor he owned an alphabetical list of religious terms drawing on episodes from the Old and New Testaments.⁸⁷ Other such tools included the *Distinctiones bibliae*, which was designed to show a preacher how to subdivide a range of alphabetically organized topics.⁸⁸ To help him find relevant biblical passages, Pfeffel owned an alphabetical concordance to scenes from the Gospels, and copied for himself a concordance of biblical names.⁸⁹ He also possessed a dictionary to Augustine's works.⁹⁰ It is not therefore surprising that a large proportion of Pfeffel's marginal commentary consists of the precise identification of references. That he acquired most of these tools later in his career and the fact that the earliest dated sermon outline is from 1467 suggest that he did not actively construct sermons until after his appointment to St. Lorenz. As a rector, he seems to have been content to use ready-made sermons from his collections or to have provided a simple explanation of the Sunday Gospel text as demanded by Bishop Johann III von Eich's synodal statutes.⁹¹

Pfeffel also possessed texts from which material for sermons could be quarried, especially texts on the virtues and vices, the Ten Commandments, miracle stories, histories, and exempla drawn from natural history. He already possessed a considerable amount of such material before he began his preaching career, but these were rounded out by Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles*, the *Proprietates rerum naturalium adaptatae sermonibus dominicalibus et quadragesimalibus*, and excerpts copied in his own hand from the *Lumen animae*.⁹² The latter two texts consisted of exempla drawn from natural history for use in constructing sermons. The *Lumen animae* was organized

by topic, the *Proprietates* according to the liturgical year. Both would have allowed a preacher to add the power of metaphor and the lure of the exotic to his sermons. According to the latter, for example, the farsightedness, selflessness, and power of resurrection make the eagle a symbol of God; the fearsome appearance, insatiable appetite for human flesh, yet sweet voice of the manticore are a figure for the seven deadly sins; the preacher himself, however, is like the lark who even in captivity delights all with his song.⁹³

History was an equally fertile field from which to harvest moral lessons. A manuscript acquired right around the time of his transfer to Nuremberg consisted of a medley of historical works including two short texts on the history of various schismatic groups, Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in the translation by Rufinus Aquileiensis, and Martin of Oppau's *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum*, with later additions of material through the pontificate of Martin V (1417-1431).⁹⁴ Pfeffel had at least a passing acquaintance with classical history as well. He made references to Romulus and Remus and Alexander the Great in his sermon notes and owned a copy of Guido de Columnis' *Historia destructionis Troiae*, a re-working of Vergil's *Aeneid*, that had originally been copied in 1381 by a monk from the monastery of St. Michael in Candiana in the diocese of Padua.⁹⁵ This taste for the classical, and perhaps even the manuscript itself, may have been acquired during a trip to Italy. In a manuscript acquired sometime between 1447 and 1463, Pfeffel added a note to a sermon against dancing:

In Italian, however, 'bala' is called 'chorea,' that is 'balare' is 'corizare.' And this is done in Lombardy, Tuscany, Campania, and Maritima where I was and learned the Italian idiom among them.⁹⁶

Since matriculation records for the universities in Italy are almost wholly lacking for the medieval period, it is impossible to move beyond speculation, but it seems probable that Pfeffel spent some time studying in Italy, most likely either before his matriculation into the University of Vienna or in the period between 1452 and 1455, when he began his ecclesiastical career in Spalt.

Further evidence that Pfeffel mined historical texts for sermon material is a concern for the proper pronunciation of the names of historical figures. A note near the word Chlodoneus (Clovis) in Martin of Oppau's chronicle states:

In the year of Our Lord 1467. Peter Knorr says that William of Saxony, who has spent much time there before the king on the prince's business, has heard that in the true and certain idiom in France one says Chlodoveus and not Chlodoneus. And I, Ulrich Pfeffel, at the time preacher in Nuremberg, wished to note this because of the frequency of that term Chlodoneus.⁹⁷

Nuremberg was a cosmopolitan city; to have been familiar with the authentic French pronunciation of one of the most celebrated kings in Christian history would have been a mark of distinction for a learned, public figure.

Taken as a whole, his library reveals that he saw the role of a beneficed preacher in the city of Nuremberg to be related to but distinct from that of a pastor in Preith and Obereichstätt. Whereas parish priests could content themselves with basic expositions of scripture and doctrine, beneficed preachers needed familiarity with the monuments of scholastic exegesis and pastoral theology. They both needed to possess systematic sermon collections and have the ability to use the tools of the trade to craft original sermons buttressed by biblical references and theological authorities and enlivened by both exotic and historical exempla.

Intellectual and Devotional Interests

Pfeffel was not, however, completely consumed by the demands of his profession. He possessed an intellectual curiosity that went beyond his need to educate the laity and a sense of piety moved by the devotional currents emanating from the Netherlands. Pfeffel's eclectic tastes clearly show that we cannot judge the interests and quality of parish priests solely by the literature written explicitly for their consumption such as pastoral handbooks. Most handbooks do seem to reduce the job of a parish priest to the correct performance of a handful of rituals, but we cannot from that conclude that priests had no deeper devotional feelings or further interests. There were after all other things to read, and curious priests read them.

Shortly after becoming the parish priest in Preith (c.1459-1460) Pfeffel made a copy of the decree from the Council of Basel on the immaculate conception and two related sermons, both of which he erroneously attributed to Heinrich von Langenstein.⁹⁸ The nature of Mary's conception had long been a debated issue and by the fourteenth century generally pitted the Franciscans, who argued that a singular act of God's grace had shielded Mary from the stain of original sin, against the Dominicans, who argued that God's plan for salvation required that Mary be tainted by original sin, if only for a moment. Acting in a context of flowering Marian piety, the Council of Basel finally decided in 1439 that Mary had indeed been conceived free from original sin. The decision, however, was of dubious canonicity because it was made after Pope Eugenius (1431-1447) had ordered the council to transfer to Ferrara and in the same year that the council had deposed Eugenius and elected Felix V (1439-1449) in his stead. This renewed papal schism merely twenty years after the resolution of the previous one at

Constance eroded support for the council among secular rulers, and the emasculated rump of the council in Basel finally dissolved itself ten years later. Nevertheless, the doctrine had become generally accepted in Western Christendom by the end of the fifteenth century, although the issue was not definitively settled until 1854.⁹⁹

Pfeffel's title for the text makes it clear that he was aware of the contentious debate: "Here follows the bull from the synod of Basel on the conception of the blessed Virgin, in which the universal holy Church finally determined that she did not have original sin."¹⁰⁰ Heinrich Totting von Oyta, composed the first of the sermons appended by Pfeffel, while the author of the second sermon, which begins with the incipit *Necdum erant abyssi*, remains unidentified. Totting taught theology at the universities of Prague, Paris, and Vienna in the second half of the fourteenth century. While in Paris he became friends with Heinrich von Langenstein, with whom he reunited at the University of Vienna after royal pressure to declare for Pope Clement VII during the Great Schism drove both of them to leave Paris between 1381 and 1382.¹⁰¹ Totting originally delivered his sermon on the immaculate conception in 1390 or 1391 before the assembled masters of the University of Vienna. Having already experienced in Paris the conflict that this issue could cause, he sought to convince his listeners to call a theological armistice.¹⁰²

Totting presents the issue as an unresolved debate and summarizes the arguments on both sides: opponents appealed to Scripture, the Church Fathers, and theological reason to argue that if Mary had been free from original sin, then she would have had no need for the grace of Christ. Supporters argued that there was a need for a mediator between Christ's absolute purity and man's guilt, that Mary had been protected through Christ's merit, and that Mary was a unique exception that did not invalidate God's plan

for salvation. Totting advised that neither side's arguments were conclusive and that one should maintain neutrality to avoid dissension among clerics and scandal among the laity; one should instead wait for definitive judgment by the Church or the revelation of decisive proofs.¹⁰³

The second sermon was written c. 1425-1435, most likely by a Franciscan, and clearly has a polemical thrust.¹⁰⁴ The sermon employs a standard logical structure in order to prove that Mary was the recipient of God's special grace. In the first section of the sermon, the author argues that the immaculate conception was certainly possible because of God's omnipotence; God had the power to preserve Mary from original sin, just as he had the power to stop the sun or make it reverse course.¹⁰⁵ In the second section he argues that the doctrine is congruous with God's nature since it would have been improper for the mother of God to have been tainted by sin. In the third section, he argues that Mary's conception was in fact immaculate, and cites as authorities seven saints (Augustine, Anselm, Ildephonsus Toletanus, Dominic, Aquinas, Bernard, and Bridget) and seven Franciscan theological masters (Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, Nicholas of Lyra, Peter of Candia, Peter Auriol, Franciscus de Mayronis, and William of Ware).¹⁰⁶

After the recitation of authorities, he deals with seven objections to the doctrine of the immaculate conception. A summary of one of these objections will be sufficient to give the flavor of the discussion. The author states the objection as follows: Paul says that all have sinned and need the grace of Christ and that Christ was the first born without sin. If Mary were born without original sin, then she would not need Christ's passion and would, therefore, have been the first born without sin. The author responds that Christ was the first to be born without sin due to his nature, while Mary was protected from sin

by grace. Mary not only needed the grace of Christ, she benefited from it more than any other.¹⁰⁷ After dealing with the objections, the author continues with seven prefigurations of Mary's sinlessness in the Old Testament and seven correlations to Mary's sinlessness found in nature. For example, just as a thorny plant produces roses, which themselves lack thorns, so sinful humanity produced Mary, who herself lacked sin.

The polemical bent of the sermon is clearest, however, in the final section. Here the author recounts several miracles, in which divine wrath descends upon opponents of the doctrine. He describes the tales as seven claps of thunder, "because just as thunder strikes terror in the land, thus those seven miracles strike terror in those who wish to falsify the fame of the glorious Virgin Mary and who do not wish to celebrate her conception."¹⁰⁸ In one, a furious marble statue of the Virgin struck blind a friar who was preaching against the immaculate conception, but granted his sight again after he promised to reverse his position. Two other similarly misguided preachers do not live to repent; one is strangled by a wolf and a second dies in his quarters before taking the floor to defend his opinions before Pope Martin V. The brazen confidence of *Necdum* would have made Totting wince.

Pfeffel clearly saw these sermons in the context of Basel's ruling. He ended his copy of Totting's sermon with the note: "Here ends the sermon on the conception of the Virgin Mary, in which the authorities holding that she was conceived in original sin are explained" and prefaced his copy of Basel's decree with the note that the council had 'finally' resolved the issue.¹⁰⁹ These notes suggest that he viewed Basel's ruling as providing just the sort of final judgment that Totting had awaited. His marginal commentary, which notes the outline of the argument, provides exact citations for biblical

references, and points out passages of special interest, shows that he remained nonetheless interested in the main points of the dispute. For example, in the sermon *Necdum* he marked passages defining original sin and the author's argument that Mary was sanctified at the instant of conception. In one place he even suggests an alternative metaphor. The author argues that Mary benefited more from the grace of Christ than all others in the same way that a man whom a friend prevents from falling into the mud has benefited more than a man whom a friend cleans off after he has already fallen in. In the margin Pfeffel makes the same point by arguing that of two persons sure to be captured by a cruel enemy, the person saved from capture by a friend has benefited more than one merely redeemed from captivity. Whereas Adam was captured and later redeemed, Mary was protected from capture entirely.¹¹⁰

Neither of these sermons was designed for lay consumption. Totting's was delivered before a university audience and argued forcefully against taking either side in the debate before the laity. Even the sensational miracle stories of *Necdum erant abyssi* concern preachers and were clearly meant to convince priests and preachers to support the doctrine of the immaculate conception, not to inspire devotion in the laity. Both of these sermons would have been of far more use to a schoolman seeking information on the debate itself than to a parish priest looking for material from which to cobble together a Sunday sermon. That Pfeffel was interested in such texts while serving as a parish priest reveals that his interest in theological questions went beyond the demands of his job.

Aside from a full complement of sermons on Mary, Pfeffel did possess one other text that suggests he had an affinity for Mary that went beyond the doctrine of the immaculate conception. This was a short meditation on the popular hymn *Salve Regina*,

which circulated in the late Middle Ages both individually and as Book III, chapter 19 of the *Stimulus amoris*.¹¹¹ The *Stimulus* was one of the most successful Franciscan texts of the Middle Ages. Originating in the late 13th century and going through successive additions and revisions over the next 50 years, it was eventually translated into German and English, went through at least thirteen incunable editions, and survives in over 500 manuscripts. The opening chapters consist of an extended meditation on the wounds and passion of Christ, while the final book describes the basis, process, and result of contemplation. The contemplative should climb the mountain of God to the summit until one relinquishes the self and reaches a state of spiritual inebriation.¹¹² The small portion of the *Stimulus* owned by Pfeffel is a request for Marian intercession in the form of a meditation on the *Salve Regina*. Here the soul is at once drawn in by Mary, “whose beauty exhilarates the inner eye and the immensity of whose sweetness intoxicates the heart of the one meditating,”¹¹³ and at the same time exiled from her presence. The exile, however, is corporeal only and serves to inspire the soul to keep up the search, “O Mistress, while we are here, you establish us as exiles, lest, trusting in our patrimony here, we stop seeking you and your Son; thus you establish us as exiles in body, so that we are always with you as fellow citizens in mind.”¹¹⁴

According to Falk Eisermann, the *Stimulus amoris* was popular among the Windesheim Congregation and individuals attracted by the Modern Devotion, including members of the secular clergy.¹¹⁵ In fact several of the texts Pfeffel collected reveal an interest in this mode of piety, which emerged from the towns of the Low Countries in the 14th century. Inspired by the ideas of the movement’s founder, Geert Grote (d. 1384), the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, as they came to be called, established houses in

which both lay and clerical members renounced private property, continued to work in the world, and practiced a quasi-monastic religious life of reading, prayer and contemplation. This innovative combination of work in the world, communal religious life, and refusal to take religious vows confused and challenged many churchmen. In 1395 a group of Devout responded to official pressure to institutionalize their way of life by forming the Windesheim Congregation, an association of houses of canons regular. The congregation adopted a set of common statutes in 1434 and would eventually include around 100 houses; in the mid-15th century the Congregation began spreading its influence deeper into the Empire as it became common for church reformers to invite members of the Congregation to help reform monasteries and collegiate churches.¹¹⁶

It is in this form that the Modern Devotion penetrated into the diocese of Eichstätt. In 1458 Bishop Johann III von Eich converted Rebdorf to a house of canons regular and joined it to the Windesheim Congregation.¹¹⁷ The conversion met with fierce resistance initially and became a test of strength for the bishop and a cause célèbre in the diocese. Pfeffel would certainly have heard of the events while in Spalt and between 1459 and 1460 he took up his position as a parish priest near the community. As discussed above, Pfeffel had several of his manuscripts bound at Rebdorf and likely used manuscripts from the collegiate library as exemplars for his own scribal work.

Although one should not minimize the differences between the houses of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life in the Low Countries and the collegiate churches of the Windesheim Congregation, one can say that in general members practiced an affective piety focused on veneration for the Virgin Mary, Christ's life and passion, and the Eucharist. The Devout stressed reading, scribal work (especially for

men), prayer, and meditation. Those influenced by this type of spirituality felt drawn to patristic works, the products of the twelfth century Renaissance, and texts that fostered mystical contemplation, but tended to view the questions and disputations of the late medieval university with more suspicion.¹¹⁸ In the first book of the *Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis asserted that he “would rather experience repentance in my soul than know how to define it.”¹¹⁹

While Pfeffel certainly had no aversion to scholastic theology and traditional pastoral literature, his literary tastes also reveal the influence of the Modern Devotion. Although he did not own a great number of patristic texts, he did possess a handful of Augustinian and Pseudo-Augustinian texts as well as an alphabetical dictionary to Augustine’s works, which he used to locate desired passages.¹²⁰ In his career as a preacher, Pfeffel precisely quotes works by Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Orosius.¹²¹ However, it is his interest in texts on meditation and spiritual progress that most clearly reveal his inclinations towards this type of piety.

Between 1463 and 1466, while still serving as a parish priest near Eichstätt, he copied Hugh of St. Victor’s *Soliloquium de arra animae*, Innocent III’s *De miseria humanae conditionis*, and a portion of Jean de Fécamp’s *Libellus de scripturis et verbis patrum*.¹²² Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) was a key figure in the twelfth century Renaissance and is best known for his promotion of the liberal arts and his role in developing an approach to mysticism that emphasized contemplation as a source of intuitive knowledge about God and his creation.¹²³ The *Soliloquium*, surviving in over 300 manuscripts and first printed in 1473, takes the form of a dialogue between Hugh’s

reason and his soul, during which the soul is led by rational argument from love of the world to love of self and finally to love of God and contemplation of the divine.¹²⁴ Given that the first step on this spiritual ascent is the realization that love of this world is futile, then Innocent's text, *De miseria*, would have made an excellent primer. In three books, Innocent (d. 1216) lays out in morbid detail the tribulations and indignities suffered by the young, the old, the sick, and the damned.¹²⁵ The *contemptus* genre would be a favored one among advocates of the Modern Devotion. John of Schoonhoven (d. 1432), for example, a canon of Groenendaal who defended the mystic John of Ruusbroec against accusations of heresy, himself wrote a book entitled *On the Contempt of the World*.¹²⁶

Whereas Innocent's text would have helped Pfeffel begin the spiritual progression described by Hugh, Jean de Fécamp's *Libellus* would have helped with the later stages. Jean (d. 1078) was the Benedictine abbot of Fecamp and Dijon and a widely-read ascetical author. The *Libellus*, more commonly known at the time under the title *Liber meditationum* or *Liber supputationum* and nearly universally attributed to Augustine, treats the misery of this world briefly, but dwells at length on contemplation of God, the Incarnation, the state of the blessed, and the Trinity.¹²⁷ Pfeffel noted the major sections of the text in the margins and revealed a special affinity for it in his unusually wordy colophon:

Thus ends the *Liber supputationum*, according to others the *Liber supplicationum*, collected from the divine scriptures especially for the use of those who are lovers of the contemplative life. By me Ulrich Pfeffel then the parish priest in Obereichstätt in the year 1463.¹²⁸

Following the date, Pfeffel recommends that the reader pray both before and after finishing the text in order to praise God with a devoted mind and pure heart; the reader who does so will find "many extraordinary and elegant things" in the book.¹²⁹ Johannes

de Palomar's *Scala spiritualis*, copied by another hand into the first folio of one of Pfeffel's manuscripts, visually depicts the spiritual progression described by these three texts as an eight-step ladder. The soul should in stages give up the pleasures of the flesh, reject worldly honors, exclude all vanities, purify the heart, quiet the mind, meditate on the sweetness of scripture, engage in spiritual exercises by thinking about the precious reward to come, and finally contemplate God alone and his infinite goodness.¹³⁰

Each of these texts in its own way seeks to redirect the reader's love away from this world and toward the eternal. Pfeffel would later acquire the first fifteen chapters of another text with a similar goal, perhaps the most celebrated text associated with the Modern Devotion, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*.¹³¹ This quintessential "best-seller" began circulating in the early 1420s and survives in some nine-hundred fifteenth-century manuscripts and one hundred early printed editions. The earliest copies of the text circulated in the milieu of houses belonging to the Windesheim Congregation, including Rebdorf, and were used by early readers as an aid to meditation. The first fifteen chapters comprise book one of the *Imitation* and often circulated independently.¹³² They begin with an exhortation to feel contempt for the vanities of the world and follow with practical advice for one seeking spiritual progress such as ways to avoid self-conceit and temptation and to turn adversity toward one's spiritual advantage.

During his years as a parish priest near Rebdorf, Pfeffel clearly acquired an interest in contemplation. On the other hand his library does not reveal much evidence of an attraction for the kind of deeply affective piety associated with the Modern Devotion. He did own several naturalistic accounts of the passion, but none of them openly encourage the reader to identify with Christ and his suffering or describe his suffering in

mystical language.¹³³ Although one passage about Mary's anguish moved him to make one of his few marginal notes in German, overall the texts are more didactic than emotional in tone and probably served Pfeffel as resources for constructing sermons.¹³⁴ On the basis of his library as a whole, therefore, it seems safer to say that Pfeffel's relationship to the Modern Devotion was one of curiosity rather than commitment. Nevertheless, his example reveals one way that the ideas associated with the Modern Devotion spread into the Empire and shows how changes in local ecclesiastical institutions, and their libraries, could and did impact the secular clergy in their vicinity.

Conclusion

Pfeffel's career can only be described as a success. Although there is no record of Pfeffel having ever received a degree, he was university educated. He found employment as a priest in Spalt and used his skills and connections to become a rector with the *cura animarum*, a preacher in three different cities, and, finally, an official in a collegiate church. Along the way he collected books to help him fulfill his responsibilities as priest and preacher. One noteworthy quality of Pfeffel's tastes is how eclectic they were. He highly valued works by both Robert Holcot, a proponent of nominalism and the philosophical *via moderna*, and Aquinas, an architect of the *via antiqua*,¹³⁵ collected both scholastic penitential *summae* and Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, used both patristic biblical commentaries as well as the exhaustive expositions of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, was neither hesitant to read the Bible for himself, nor above consulting simple abbreviations, and read about both the history of medieval popes and

emperors as well as the city of Troy and the founding of Rome. Touched by the literary and spiritual currents emanating from the Netherlands, a product of the medieval university, working for both his bishop and his community, he collected whatever he found either useful or fulfilling.

Pfeffel was perhaps not typical in terms of ambition, dedication, financial resources, or connections, but he was not unique.¹³⁶ His example is instructive because it illuminates the avenues available to secular clerics who sought texts for either personal or professional purposes. Most may have had the resources to assemble only a small collection, but their methods would have been the same: borrowing exemplars, copying, hiring scribes, exploiting personal contacts, and buying the occasional bargain. Ulrich Pfeffel's library is an unusually eloquent witness to his life and activities. What this library reveals, however, may not have been so unusual – the circulation of books and texts not only among university professors and cathedral canons, but also among parish priests and preachers. Fifteenth-century priests did read; what they read would have influenced their sense of themselves as a profession and their devotional preferences. Further searches for book-owning priests, at least in the Empire, would be worthwhile indeed.

¹ “Liber herr Vlrich, ich hab czum merer mal von euch verstanten, wie ir dy pucher gern hettet; nun schick ich euch die vnd wil euch dy bas feyler gebe dan keinen andern vnd pit euch, ir wollet mir vier gulden leyhen dy weil dar auf, das wil ich vmb euch verdienen<en>. Ob ir aber des gelcz nit het, so hat das kein irrung; behaltet dy pücher dennoch; wen ich czu euch kann, wil ich mich wol mit euch vertragen; wenn ir dann die v gulden notig

haben müst, wolt ich euch auch nit mit lassten. . . . Karolus de Seckendorff;” Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt, Cod. st 189, fol. 104v and Hardo Hilg, ed., *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 89. Karl first writes ‘vier’ gulden, but later ‘v’ gulden. I am assuming here that this is an error and that writing ‘v’ instead of ‘iv’ is a more likely error than writing ‘vier’ instead of ‘fünf.’ The Seckendorfs were an influential family in the region; in 1480 Johannes von Seckendorf senior and Johannes von Seckendorf junior were both canons in the cathedral of Eichstätt. See Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:89 and Joseph Georg Suttner, *Schematismus der Geistlichkeit des Bisthums Eichstätt für das Jahr 1480* (Eichstätt, 1879), p. viii. Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt will be abbreviated to UE from this point forward.

² See especially the collection of Leonard E. Boyle’s articles, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981); James H. Overfield, “University Studies and the Clergy in Pre-Reformation Germany,” in *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience: Universities in Transition 1300-1700*, eds. James M. Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue (Columbus, OH, 1984), pp. 254-292; Alfred Wendehorst, “Wer konnte im Mittelalter lesen und schreiben?” in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 9-33; R. Emmet McLaughlin, “Universities, Scholasticism, and the Origins of the German Reformation,” *History of Universities* 9 (1990), 1-43; Erich Meuthen, “Zur Europäischen Klerusbildung vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Mediävistische Komparatistik: Festschrift für Franz-Josef Worstbrock zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Wolfgang Harms and Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 263-294; William J. Dohar, “Sufficienter litteratus: Clerical Examination and

Instruction for the Cure of Souls,” in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, eds. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN, 1997), pp. 305-321; Martin Kintzinger, “*Studens artium, rector parochiae* und *magister scholarum* im Reich des 15. Jahrhunderts: Studium und Versorgungschancen der Artisten zwischen Kirche und Gesellschaft,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 26 (1999), 1-41. On the problem of using ‘Christianization’ as a category of analysis in discussions about improvements in religious education, see John Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem,” *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519-552.

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York, 2003), pp. 31-34.

⁴ John Shinnars and William Dohar, eds., *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), p. xiii.

⁵ John Shinnars, “Parish Libraries in Medieval England,” in *A Distinct Voice*, eds. Brown and Stoneman, pp. 207-230.

⁶ For example, see Florenz Landmann, “Predigten und Predigtwerke in den Händen der Weltgeistlichkeit des 15. Jahrhunderts nach alten Bücherlisten des Bistums Konstanz,” *Kirche und Kanzel* 6 (1923), 130-136, 203-211, 277-284 and 7 (1924), 53-60, 199-125, 207-214; Florenz Landmann, “Predigten und Predigtwerke in den Händen der Wiener Weltgeistlichkeit des XV. Jahrhunderts,” in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften: Eine Festgabe zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Geh. Rat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke gewidmet* (Münster, 1925), pp. 288-307; Paul Ruf, “Der Augsburger Pfarrer Molitoris und sein Holzschnittsiegel,” *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 3 (1930/1), 387-406; Florenz Landmann, “Drei Predigt-

und Seelsorgsbücher von Konrad Dreuben, einem elsässischen Landpfarrer aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für elsässische Kirchengeschichte* 8 (1933), 209-240; Ladislaus Buzas, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 132; Gerhard Leidel, *Die Pfarreien des Klosters Wülzburg* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch, 1986), p. 84; Roy Haines, “A York Priest’s Notebook” in *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 163-177; Falk Eisermann, “Schreiben, Stiften, Sterben: Die Bücher des Johannes Pilter in der Bibliothek von Eberhardsklausen,” in *500 Jahre Wallfahrtskirche Klausen*, eds. Martin Persch, Michael Embach, und Peter Dohms (Mainz, 2003), pp. 383-418.

⁷ Reinhard Jakob, *Schulen in Franken und in der Kuroberpfalz 1250-1550* (Wiesbaden, 1994); Franz Heiler, *Bildung im Hochstift Eichstätt zwischen Spätmittelalter und katholischer Konfessionalisierung: Die Städte Beilngries, Berching und Greding im Oberamt Hirschberg* (Wiesbaden, 1998). Grammar schools were in fact proliferating all over Europe; see Jacques Verger, “Schools and Universities,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge, 2005), 226.

⁸ R.C. Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des Alten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 6, 33-35.

⁹ Leonhard Hoffmann, “Gutenberg und die Folgen: Zur Entwicklung des Bücherpreises im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 29 (1996), 5-23; Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998), 2:831-862.

¹⁰ Up until 1450 the manuscript production in England and France, on the other hand, was mostly stagnant due to the effects of the Hundred Years' War; see Nedermeier, *Von der Handschrift*, 1:26-28, 220-222; Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 7-10. On paper, see Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1983), pp. 31-37; Richard L. Hills, "Early Italian Papermaking: A Crucial Technical Revolution," in *Produzione e Commercio della Carta e del Libro Secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti della 'Ventitreesima Settimana di Studi' 15-20 Aprile 1991*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 1992), pp. 73-97; Nicolas Barker, "The Trade and Manufacture of Paper before 1800," in Cavaciocchi, *Produzione e Commercio*, pp. 213-219; R. I. Burns, "Paper Comes to the West, 800-1400" in *Europäische Technik im Mittelalter 800 bis 1200: Tradition und Innovation*, ed. Uta Lindgren (Berlin, 1996), pp. 413-422. Another factor in increased manuscript production was the development of cursive scripts; see M. B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," reprinted in *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers; Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), p. 285 and Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 257-258. On improvements in literacy and education see Charles F. Briggs, "Literacy, Reading and Writing in the Medieval West," *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000), 397-420.

¹¹ John Van Engen, in particular, has argued we should view the years 1370-1530, the "long fifteenth century," as a creative period distinct for the "multiple options" that it offered to medieval Christians; see John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2008),

p.307 and John Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church," *Church History* 77.2 (2008), 257-284.

¹² Hobbins, *Authorship*; see also Bernard Guenée, *L'Opinion publique a la fin du Moyen Age d'après la Chronique de Charles VI du Religieux de Saint-Denis* (Perrin, 2002).

¹³ Hobbins, *Authorship*, pp. 141, 194.

¹⁴ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 35-56; Robert Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400-1600* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 1-52; Michael Bailey, "A Late-Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" *Speculum* 84.3 (2009), 633-661.

¹⁵ On the so-called 'Vienna School,' see Ernst Haberkern, *Die 'Wiener Schule' der Pastoraltheologie im 14. Und 15. Jahrhundert: Entstehung, Konstituenten, literarische Wirkung*, 2 vols. (Göppingen, 2003).

¹⁶ Hobbins, *Authorship*, p. 148; Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, pp. 13-23; Gilbert Ouy has edited both the Latin and French versions of the text, *Gerson bilingue: Les deux rédactions, latine et française, de quelques oeuvres du chancelier parisien* (Paris, 1998).

¹⁷ Surgant received a doctorate in canon law in 1479 from the University of Basel, where he served frequently as rector and dean, and was curate of St. Theodore's from 1479 until his death in 1503; see Rudolf Hirsch, "Surgant's List of Recommended Books for Preachers (1502-1503)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 20.2 (1967), 199-210.

¹⁸ These were the *Manipulus curatorum*, Jean Gerson's *Opus tripartitum* and *De arte audiendi confessiones*, the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* of Angelus de Clavasio, Antoninus Florentinus' *Confessionale-Defecerunt*, the *Confessionale* of Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, Gabriel Biel's *Expositio*

canonis, Joannis de Lapide's *Resolutorium dubiorum Missae*, Johannes Nider's *Praeceptorium divinae legis*, the *Summa vitiorum et virtutum Lugdenensium*, and a manual whose incipit was *Medice cura te ipsum*; Johann Friedrich Schannat and Josphe Hartzheim, eds., *Concilia Germaniae*, 11 volumes (Cologne, 1759-1790; repr. Aalen, 1970-1996), 6:29.

¹⁹ Markus Lommer's study of the parish library in Sulzbach includes a list of known parish libraries, *Kirche und Geisteskultur in Sulzbach bis zur Einführung der Reformation: Predigerstelle, Kirchenbibliothek und 'Lateinschule' einer Stadtpfarrei auf dem Nordgau vor dem Hintergrund der überregionalen Entwicklung* (Regensburg, 1998).

²⁰ Walter Wambach, *Die Kirchenbibliothek Schwabach: Geschichte und Bestand* (Baden-Baden, 1990).

²¹ In 1854 Joseph Georg Suttner, cathedral canon in Eichstätt and first editor of the *Pastoralblatt des Bistums Eichstätt*, listed Pfeffel as one of the lower clergy, who, together with the 'learned ornaments' of the cathedral, evidenced a revival of education among the clergy during the episcopate of Johann III von Eich (1445-1464); see "Versuch einer Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums Eichstatt," *Pastoralblatt des Bistums Eichstätt* 1 (1854), 124, n. 2. Monica Fink-Lang in her study of the influence of humanism in the diocese of Eichstätt examined several of Pfeffel's manuscripts and analyzed his marginal comments and notes for evidence of interest in patristic and humanist authors; Monica Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen zum Eichstätter Geistesleben im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1985), passim. She numbered Pfeffel's library at twenty-four manuscripts and three printed books, but it is now clear that Pfeffel owned at least thirty-two manuscripts. Hardo Hilg numbered the collection at

thirty manuscripts, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:xiv. See also Karl Heinz Keller, “Quod homines indigent libris ad suum usum: Bemerkungen zu mittelalterlichen Handschriften aus der Fürstbischöflichen Hofbibliothek Eichstätt,” *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 26 (1998), 14-29; Franz Xaver Buchner, “Alphabetisches Generalregister der Geistlichkeit des Bistums Eichstätt für die Zeit vor 1760 mit Nachträgen zum Generalschematismus des Verfassers für die Zeit nach 1760,” Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt, Nachlaß von Franz Xaver Buchner, Kat. Nr. 4; Ilona Hubay, *Incunabula Eichstätter Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 229; Julius Sax, *Die Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstätt, 745-1806* (Landshut, 1884-1885), p. 306. Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt will hereafter be abbreviated DAE.

²² Of these thirty-five books, thirty-one appear to have been donated to the bishop of Eichstätt’s palace library; Klaus Walter Littger, “Eichstätt 1 Universitätsbibliothek,” in *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland* (Hildesheim, 1997), 11:218; Keller, “Quod homines,” pp. 19, 22-25.

²³ UE Cod. st 185, 207, and 586; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:73, 118 and Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, III:271.

²⁴ Even those that do not bear such a mark may have at one time. An ownership mark in UE Cod. st 214 in the place where Pfeffel customarily placed his has been rubbed out.

²⁵ Franz Gall and Willy Szaivert, eds., *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, 6 vols. (Graz, 1954-1993), 2:12.

²⁶ Ibid., 1:121; 2:103, 131, 353, 402; 3:25; Georg Erler, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1895-1902), 1:311.

²⁷ Gall and Szaivert, eds., *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien* 2:103; Ludwig Schmugge and Wolfgang Müller, eds., *Repertorium Poenitentiarie Germanicum*, vol. 3 (Tübingen, 2001), p. 88, n. 779.

²⁸ This can be inferred from ownership marks left in UE Cod. st 458 on the inside front cover: “Emi librum istum anno domini 1458 in die Nicolai, anno sacerdocii mei tercio in Spalt,” and “Iste liber est Vlrici Pfeffel presbyteri.” The ownership marks are transcribed in Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:283.

²⁹ UE Cod. st 199, fols. 284v, 316v; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:106; J. G. Suttner, *Schematismus der Geistlichkeit des Bisthums Eichstätt für das Jahr 1480* (Eichstätt, 1879), p. 40. Pfeffel’s notarial mark survives on a document, DAE Urk. 294 and in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2^o Cod. 92, fol. 316v.

³⁰ On Johann, see Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, volume 1 (Berlin, 2006), pp. 203-219; on Knorr, see Agostino Sottili, “Nürnberger Studenten an italienischen Renaissance-Universitäten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Universität Pavia,” in *Università e Cultura: Studi sui rapporti italo-tedeschi nell’età dell’Umanesimo*, ed. Agostino Sottili (Goldbach, 1993), pp. 55-58.

³¹ “Hoc quoque actum est postquam tres annos et menses duos predicator extitissem in Windsheim imperiali opido Augsburg;” Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2^o Cod 92, fol. fol. 316r.

³² This becomes clear from two colophons in UE Cod. st 208, fol. 227r and 228v: “Lectura nimium commendabilis Iohannis de Ysdinio doctoris sacre theologie clarissimi super epistolam Pauli ad Titum. Comparata per me Vlricum Pfeffel ecclesie Eystetensis predicatorem, anno 1475 etc.,” and “Finit textus ad Titum. Per me Vlricum Pfeffel, in

die sancti Leonhardi [Nov. 6th], 1475.” See also Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:119. Monika Fink-Lang believes that Pfeffel at some brief point during these years was the parish priest of Wettstetten. She likely drew this conclusion from an entry made on the inside back-cover of UE Cod. st 381; however, the entry ‘plebanus in Wettsteten’ made here certainly refers to the ‘hermanno freystetensi’ mentioned in the same entry, and not to Pfeffel, the owner of the book. See Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen*, p. 295.

³³ “Salutem plurimam. Honorabile domine dignemini peto quatenus velitis michi subvenire quarta feria post festum pasce et facere verbum dei in capella Irl(e)npach quia ibi habeo dedicationem. Etc. Johannes Pfeffel graf vom hungring perg;” UE Cod. st 435, loose note between fols. 4-5. There is a partial transcription in Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:210. Keller notes that there are two towns in the diocese of Regensburg with the name Irlbach, either of which could be the location of the chapel. In a personal communication, Keller remarked that the title ‘graf vom hungring perg’ was taken in jest and in no way connotes a real noble title.

³⁴ Götz Frhr. von Pölnitz, ed., *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1937), c. 73.

³⁵ In one loose note dated 1482 left between fols. 102-103 of UE Cod. st 483, Pfeffel identified himself as “the preacher of the cathedral in Eichstätt.” Furthermore, Pfeffel left behind two dated sermon outlines, which suggest that he was active throughout this period as a preacher: “Anno 78 de ascensione domine,” UE Cod. st 438, loose note between fols. 144-145 and “81 Anno dominicam vocem iocunditatis,” loose note between fols. 190-191.

³⁶ Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, pp. 53-54.

³⁷ Willi Ulsamer, *Pfarrkirche St. Emmeram und ehemalige Stiftskirche St. Nikolaus, Spalt* (Ottobeuren, 1985).

³⁸ DAE B244, fol. 265v; Franz Xaver Buchner, “Zur Geschichte des katholischen Pensionswesens: Ein Blick in das 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Klerus, Kirche und Frömmigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Bistum Eichstätt: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Franz Xaver Buchner*, eds. Enno Bünz and Klaus Walter Littger (Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1997), pp. 199-211.

³⁹ Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 192/IX, Spalt (Chorstift) – Urkunden (nach 1400), #39. The date of Pfeffel’s death is generally agreed upon in the local historical literature, but I have been as yet unable to identify the source upon which it based; see Joseph Georg Suttner, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Protestantismus im Bisthum Eichstätt,” *Pastoralblatt des Bistums Eichstätt* 16 (1869), 141 and Buchner, “Alphabetisches Generalregister.”

⁴⁰ UE Cod. st 189, 199, 207, 252, 348, 360, 435, 438, 440, 458, 692, 705, and 721.

⁴¹ Paul Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 3.2 (Munich, 1933), pp. 257-316. The texts include Bernard’s *De consideratione*, Jacobus de Voragine’s *Quadragesimale*, Johannes Nider’s treatise against the Hussites, Hugh of St. Victor’s *Tractatus de arra anime*, Innocent III’s *Tractatus de vilitate humane condicionis*, Josephus’ *Antiquities*, and a glossed version of Nicholas of Lyra’s biblical commentary.

⁴² “Lieber her Vlrich, ich bitt euch ir wellet mir fur ain sextern dorzu leichen, den wil ich von stund an noch den feyren abdiennen, vngezweifelt solt ir des sein;” UE Cod. st 207, fols. 53-54 and 57-58 and Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:118.

⁴³ Neddermeyer estimates that an average of 50-150 folia per month was normal for a scribe working continuously; Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 1:366.

⁴⁴ DAE B230, fol. 96r.

⁴⁵ A title was essentially a promise of benefice or vicarial employment. If the bishop ordained a cleric without one, he could be held responsible for supporting the cleric until he found a benefice. See Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Über die Bildung der Geistlichen im Späten Mittelalter* (Leiden, 1953), pp. 85-86.

⁴⁶ UE Cod. st 348, back cover; Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:70. For exchange rates see, Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986), p. 247.

⁴⁷ Suttner, *Schematismus*, p. 87; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:47.

⁴⁸ “Venerabilis domine Vlrice, mitto vobis hanc materiam passionis Cristi predicatam a fratre Johanne Capistrano, qui in hac materia sequitur beatum Bernhardum fratrum et doctorem ordinis nostri;” UE Cod. st 438, note between fols. 86-87 and Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:218.

⁴⁹ J. G. Suttner, “Johann Kapistran und Marcus d’Aviano,” *Pastoralblatt des Bistums Eichstätt* 8 (1861), 159-162; Johannes Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran: Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 1965), pp. 147-161; Matthias Werner, “Johannes Kapistran in Jena,” in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für*

Erich Meuthen, 2 vols., eds. Johannes Helmuth and Heribert Müller (Munich, 1994), 2:505-520.

⁵⁰ This may refer to the *Casus breves decretalium et libri sexti secundum Johannem Andree* that Pfeffel acquired at an unknown date; UE Cod. st 586.

⁵¹ Biographical data on the previous owners of Pfeffel's manuscripts can be found in *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, passim.

⁵² According to Neddermeyer the outprint of printed books did not surpass that of handwritten books until 1469 and early printers concentrated on printing 'best-sellers;' see Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 1: 317-342.

⁵³ "Anno domini 1472 Emptus sum per dominum vlricum pfeffel circa festum purificationis gloriose virginis Marie;" Hubay, *Incunabula*, #744.

⁵⁴ "Emptus iste liber anno domini 1473 Nürnberge circa festum Sancti francisci etc. per vlricum pfeffel;" Ibid., #744.

⁵⁵ "Emptus sabato ante Antonii 1474. Cum eo tempore essem praedicator in Winsheim," Ibid., # 990; "Emptus est liber hic per vlricum pfeffel presbiterum. In die sancti Kiliani Anno 1477," Ibid., #573.

⁵⁶ Suttner, "Conciliengeschichte," pp. 111-112; Schannat-Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, 5:363.

⁵⁷ Suttner, "Conciliengeschichte," p. 111; Schannat-Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, 5:363.

⁵⁸ Suttner, "Conciliengeschichte," p. 111; Schannat-Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, 5:363.

⁵⁹ Joseph Georg Suttner, “Nachträge zur Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums,”

Pastoralblatt des Bistums Eichstätt 4 (1857), 193-208, here 197-8.

⁶⁰ Erich Meuthen, “Thomas von Aquin auf den Provinzialkonzilien zu Mainz und Köln,” in *Köln: Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Hanna Vollrath and Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne, 1993), pp. 641-658, here 643.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 651-52.

⁶² A priest with a bloody nose should sensibly stop the Mass until the flow could be staunched, but the unfortunate priest who found a small spider in the consecrated wine was to swallow it along with the wine. Giant arachnids were to be washed and then the rinse consumed; Peter Dykema, “Conflicting Expectations: Parish Priests in Late Medieval Germany” (Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1998), pp. 142-246, here 210-211; Peter Dykema, “Handbooks for Pastors: Late Medieval Manuals for Parish Priests and Conrad Porta’s *Pastorale Lutheri* (1582),” in *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday*, eds. Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (Leiden, 2000), pp. 143-162. For work on pastoral literature from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see the work of Leonard E. Boyle, some of which has been collected in the Variorum volume, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981) and Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992).

⁶³ UE Cod. st 458, fols. 241r-246r; UE Cod. st 435, fols. 170r-202r; UE Cod. St 734, fols. 78r-87v; UE Cod. St 483, fols. 122r-136r. On Auerbach see Hartmut Boockmann, “Aus

den Handakten des Kanonisten Johannes von Urbach (Auerbach),” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28 (1972), 497-532. The *Stella* has been edited, see Eric H. Reiter, *Stella clericorum* (Toronto, 1997).

⁶⁴ “In hoc tractatulo circa articulos fidei inuenies LXIII hereses distinctas, circa septem sacramenta inuenies XX hereses distinctas;” UE Cod. st 458, fol. 241r.

⁶⁵ UE Cod. st 458, fols. 2r-7v. Thomas Ebendorfer was a professor of theology at the University of Vienna, an active diplomat and, in contrast to many of his university colleagues, personally engaged in pastoral care; A. Lhotsky, *Thomas Ebendorfer, ein österreichischer Geschichtsschreiber, Theologe und Diplomat des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1957); Kurt Ruh, et al., eds., *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 11 volumes, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1977-2002), 2: 253-266 [Hereafter cited simply as ‘Verfasserlexikon’]. On the *Liber scintillarum*, see Defensor de Ligugé, *Livre D’Étincelles*, 2 vols., ed. H.-M. Rochais, O.S.B. (Paris, 1961); Defensoris Locogiacensis monachi, *Liber scintillarum*, ed. H.-M. Rochais, O.S.B., *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, 117 (Turnholt, 1957).

⁶⁶ UE Cod. st 238, fol. 239r-v; on the *peccata aliena* see Richard Newhauser, “From Treatise to Sermon: Johannes Herolt on the *novem peccata aliena*,” in *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, eds. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green and Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989), pp. 185-209.

⁶⁷ UE Cod. st 458, fol. 1v.

⁶⁸ UE Cod. st 238, fol. 138v.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 138v, 140v.

⁷⁰ UE Cod. st 199, fols. 184r-223v; UE Cod. st 219, fols. 319r-446r. On Heinrich von Friemar, see *Verfasserlexikon* 3:730-737; on Nicholas see Alois Madre, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl: Leben und Schriften* (Münster, 1965).

⁷¹ UE Cod. st 348, fols. 174r-174v, 326r-335v; UE Cod. st 238, fols. 247r-263v; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:189-90; Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:73, 77-78.

⁷² UE Cod. st 238, fols. 1r-122v; UE Cod. St 360, fols. 1r-245r; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:187; Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:107.

⁷³ “Explicit lectura super quartum librum sentenciarum magistri Nicolai Dinck. Bona et subtilis pro quolibet presbitero;” UE Cod. st 238, fols. 143r-234r, here fol. 234r; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, I:188. On Peter Lombard and his *Sentences*, see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard* (Leiden, 1994) and Philipp Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004). The *Lectura Mellicensis*, which survives in nearly 200 manuscripts, originated as a series of lectures delivered at Melk, a center of monastic reform. The abbreviated version owned by Pfeffel, the *Compendium Lecturae Mellicensis*, was compiled by Johannes Schlitpacher de Weilheim, a monk at Melk; see Madre, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl*, 121-123.

⁷⁴ UE Cod. St 469, fols. 4r-76r.

⁷⁵ *Verfasserlexikon* 6:971-975.

⁷⁶ UE Cod. st 199, fols. 15r-47r. Not all of the comment boxes in the manuscript have been filled in.

⁷⁷ On John of Freiburg's *Summa*, see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge* (Montreal, 1962), pp. 47-49; Leonard E. Boyle, "The Summa Confessorum of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas and Some of his Contemporaries," reprinted in *Pastoral Care*; Leonard E. Boyle, "Summae confessorum," in *Les Genres Littéraires dans les Sources Théologiques et Philosophiques Médiévales: Définition, Critique et Exploitation*, Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve 25-27 mai 1981 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), pp. 227-238, esp. 230.

⁷⁸ UE Cod. st 359 and 748. Heinrich Gotfrid von Coburg studied at the universities of Leipzig, Rostock, Bologna, Padua, and Paris from 1413-1430. In 1416, after his studies in Leipzig, he was appointed to the post of schoolmaster in Coburg. By 1421 Heinrich was in Paris; see Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 2:105 and the literature cited there. For biography of Heinrich see Stegmüller, "Henricus Gotfridi de Koburg. Commentarius in Quartum Librum Sententiarum," in *Opera Systematica* (Uppsala, 1953), pp. 361-392.

⁷⁹ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (former Hofbibliothek), II 1; Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2^o Cod. 92; UE Cod. st 199, fols. 15r-47r; UE Cod. st 149, fols. 2r-41v.

⁸⁰ Hubay, *Incunabula*, #744.

⁸¹ Franciscus de Abbate's *Super evangelia*, UE Cod. st 705; Honorius Augustodunensis' *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, UE Cod. st 149, fols. 41v-152r; Robert Holcot's *Postilla super librum sapientiae*, UE Cod. St 252.

⁸² Leonard A. Kennedy, *The Philosophy of Robert Holcot: Fourteenth-Century Skeptic* (Lewiston, 1993); Paul Streveler and Katherine Tachau, eds. *Seeing the Future Clearly: Questions on Future Contingents by Robert Holcot* (Toronto, 1995).

⁸³ UE Cod. st 252; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:211; Pölnitz, *Matrikel Ingolstadt*, 1:c. 32. Fink-Lang has previously noted Pfeffel's appreciation of Holcot's work on the basis of the numerous quotations from it among the marginal comments and loose notes in his hand, but she seems to have been unaware of this manuscript.

⁸⁴ UE Cod. st 438, fols. 1r-174v; UE Cod. st 440, fols. 175r-349v; UE Cod. st 449, fols. 14r-213v; UE Cod. st 483, fols. 139r-212v; UE Cod. st 483, fols. 244r-300v; UE Cod. st 435, fols. 28r-163v.

⁸⁵ Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* (Burlington, VT, 2002), pp. 13-45, 202-207. Herolt's *Sermones de tempore* were frequently printed before the Reformation, but Pfeffel only owned a small sliver of them; he had a larger portion of Herolt's *Sermones super evangelia dominicalia et de sanctis secundum sensum litteralem*, which provided a brief exegesis of the gospel readings for Sundays and feast days.

⁸⁶ UE Cod. st 199, fols. 228r-v.

⁸⁷ UE Cod. st 458, fols. 62r-142v.

⁸⁸ UE Cod. st 144, fols. 1r-57v.

⁸⁹ UE Cod. st 734, fols. 183v-189v; UE Cod. st 721, fols. 195r-221r.

⁹⁰ UE Cod. st 144, fols. 157r-195v.

⁹¹ Suttner, "Conciliengeschichte," pp. 111-112.

⁹² UE Cod. st 358, fols. 15r-50v; UE Cod. st 483, fols. 86r-121r ; UE Cod. st 435, fols. 163v-169v. On the *Proprietates* see L. Thorndike. "The Properties of Things of Nature Adapted to Sermons," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1958), 78-83. On the *Lumen animae*, see Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, "The texts called *Lumen animae*," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 41 (1971), 5-113 and *Verfasserlexikon* 5:1050-1054.

⁹³ Thorndike, "The Properties," pp. 81-82.

⁹⁴ UE Cod. st 697, fols. 13r-115v and 120r-212r.

⁹⁵ Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 236-237; UE Cod. st 185; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften* I, 73.

⁹⁶ "Ytalice autem bala dicitur chorea, balare id est corizare. Et hoc in Lampardia et Tuscia, Campania et Maritima, vbi ego fui et didici ydeoma Ytalicum apud eos;" UE Cod. st 199, fol. 315v and Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:106. Pfeffel acquired this manuscript after 1447 when a previous owner noted the birth of his son, Heinricus Wünst; see fol. 264v and Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:105.

⁹⁷ "Anno domini 1467 etc etc. Item doctor Petrus Knorr dicit mihi, quod vero et indubitato vocabulo in Francia, dum ibi multo tempore coram rege negocia ageret principis, Wilhelmum de Saxonia audiuerit dici Chlodoveum et non Chlodeum. Et ego Ulricus Pfeffel, cum eo tempore essem predicator Nuermbergensis, hoc notare volui propter frequentem usum istius termini Chlodeus;" UE Cod. st 697, fol. 132r and Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften* 3:483. Knorr was the rector of St. Lorenz.

⁹⁸ UE Cod. st 238, fols. 247-260r.

⁹⁹ On the doctrine of the immaculate conception, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996) and Remigius

Bäumer, “Die Entscheidung des Basler Konzils über die Unbefleckte Empfängnis Mariens und ihre Nachwirkungen in der Theologie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert*, eds. Helmrath and Müller, pp. 193-206. On the council, see Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden, 1978) and Johannes Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil, 1431-1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme* (Cologne, 1987).

¹⁰⁰ “Sequitur forma bulle sinodi Basiliensis data ob occasionem conceptionis beate uirginis in qua finaliter determinat vniuersalis ecclesia sancta eam non habuisse peccatum originale;” UE Cod. st 238, f. 259v; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften* I:189-190.

¹⁰¹ Albert Lang, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten deutschen Universitäten und zur Problemgeschichte der Spätscholastik* (Münster, 1937).

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 231-232.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 232-237.

¹⁰⁴ P. Aquilinus Emmen, O.F.M., “Historia opusculi mediaevalis ‘Necdum erant abyssi’ olim S. Bernardino Senensi adscripti,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 14 (1944), 148-187.

¹⁰⁵ UE Cod. st 238, fol. 252r. The references to God altering the course of the sun are from Josh 10.12-13 and Isa 38.8.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., fols. 253v-256r.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. 257r.

¹⁰⁸ “. . . quia sicut tonitrua ponunt terrorem in terra ita et ista septem miracula ponunt terrorem contra illos, qui volunt calumniare famam gloriosae Virginis Mariae, et nolunt celebrare eius Conceptionis;” UE Cod. st 238, fol. 259v.

¹⁰⁹ “Explicit sermo de conceptione Marie virginis in quo soluuntur auctoritates tenentes eam conceptam in originali;” *ibid.*, fol. 251r; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften* I:189.

¹¹⁰ “Vel duo deberent capi ab hoste crudelissimo. Unus capitur de facto et liberatur ab amico. Alter vero ab eodem amico custoditur ne capiatur de certissimo tantum caperetur nisi praeseruaretur. Sic est de adam qui captus et redemptus est a christo et beata virgo praeseruata;” UE Cod. st 238, fol. 257r.

¹¹¹ UE Cod. st 483, fols. 72v-75v; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina, 221 vols. (Paris 1844-1864), 184:1077-1080 [hereafter cited as PL]. Pfeffel’s copy includes a few sections not printed in the PL edition.

¹¹² Falk Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris: Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzungen, Rezeption* (Tübingen, 2001), pp. 21-2, 43-45.

¹¹³ PL 184, c. 1077.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 1079.

¹¹⁵ Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris*, pp. 329-338.

¹¹⁶ John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*; Koen Goudriaan, “Empowerment through reading, writing and example: the Devotio moderna,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, volume 4, eds. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 407-419.

¹¹⁷ The fullest account of Johann’s efforts to reform the monasteries and collegiate churches in the diocese, with editions of selected sources, is Franz Xaver Buchner, *Johann III: Der Reformator des Bistums* (Eichstätt, 1911), pp. 12-31, 49-134; see also Suttner, “Conciliengeschichte,” pp. 158-164. Joseph Schlecht describes a failed effort to

prevent Rebdorf's transfer to the Windesheim Congregation in "Hieronymous Rotenpeck und die Reform des Stiftes Rebdorf," *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 7 (1892), 65-101.

¹¹⁸ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, pp. 81, 277.

¹¹⁹ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Joseph N. Tylenda (Wilmington, DE, 1984), p. 29.

¹²⁰ UE Cod. st 144, fols. 157r-195v.

¹²¹ The works included Augustine's *The City of God*, *Contra Faustum*, *Contra Jovianum*, and *De trinitate*, Gregory's *Sermo de conceptione beate virginis*, the *Moralia*, and the letter *Ad Mauritium imperatorem*, Ambrose's *Liber sermonum* and commentary to *De officiis*, Jerome's *Epistula ad Titum*, Cyprian's *In libro de zelo et invidia*; see Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen*, p. 96.

¹²² UE Cod. st, 199, fols. 272r-284v, 290r-312r.

¹²³ Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven, CT), pp. 177, 230.

¹²⁴ Hugh of St. Victor, *Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul*, trans. Kevin Herbert (Milwaukee, WI, 1956); P. Sicard, D. Poirel, H. Rochais, eds. *L'oeuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, vol. 1 (Brepols, 1997).

¹²⁵ Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), *De miseria condicionis humane*, ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens, GA, 1978).

¹²⁶ Goudriaan, "Empowerment," pp. 409, 411. Pfeffel owned two other examples of the genre, Heinrich von Langenstein, *Epistula de contemptu mundi ad Johannem de*

Eberstein, UE Cod. st 458, fols. 172v-176v and Anonymus Carthusiensis, *Speculum amatorum mundi*, UE Cod. st 449, fols. 235v-240r.

¹²⁷ On Jean, see Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle: Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946).

¹²⁸ “Explicit liber supputacionum beati Augustini, secundum alios liber supplicacionum, collectus ex diuinis scripturis presertim ad utilitatem eorum qui sunt amatores vite contemplatiue. Per me Vlricum Pfeffel tunc plebanum in Oberneystet, anno 1463;” UE Cod. st 199, fol. 284v; Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 1:106.

¹²⁹ “Inuenies quoque in eo multa rara et faceta,” UE Cod. st 199, fol. 284v.

¹³⁰ Johannes de Palomar, *Scala spiritualis*, UE Cod. St 483, f. 1r.

¹³¹ UE Cod. st 734, fols. 1-14.

¹³² Uwe Neddermeyer, “Radix studii et speculum vitae: Verbreitung und Rezeption der ‘Imitatio Christi’ in Handschriften und Drucken bis zur Reformation,” in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert*, 1:457-481; Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, p. 9.

¹³³ *Passio domini per XXIV horas pertractanda*, UE Cod. st 358, fols. 51r-67r; Michael de Massa, *Tractatus de passione domini*, UE Cod. st 483, fols. 213r-239r; *Passio domini secundum johannem*, UE Cod. st 358, fols. 67v-91r. The latter is incomplete and breaks off soon after Judas’ departure from the Last Supper.

¹³⁴ In one passage in the *Passio domini secundum johannem*, Mary initially rejects the plan to give up her son and develops five courses of action, which Pfeffel summarizes and translates into German in the margin as “I will hide him; I will warn him; I will free him [i.e. pay for his release from prison]; I will die in his place; I will suffer and die with

him; UE Cod. st 358, f. 85r: “So wil ich in verpergen; So wil ich in gewarnen; So wil ich in lösen; So wil ich fur in sterben; So wil ich mit ym leid und sterben.”

¹³⁵ On the two camps, see Colish, *Medieval Foundations*, pp. 289-315.

¹³⁶ To mention just one example, Matthias Burer, a chaplain in Stams in the mid-15th century, was also influenced by the Modern Devotion and owned several of the works that Pfeffel possessed such as the meditation on the *Salve Regina*, the *Imitation of Christ*, and works by Jean Gerson. Like Pfeffel he had an interest in both traditional authorities and contemporary authors; see Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris*, pp. 353-4 and n. 707. See also the literature cited in n. 6.